

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 AID-05

COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03 CIEP-01

LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-04 ACDA-07 /108 W

----- 000804

P R 232255Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1133

INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

AMEMBASSY CARACAS

AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

AMEMBSSY QUITO

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AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

AMEMBASSY ASUNCION

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LIMA 6773

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PINT, PORG, PE

SUBJECT: POLITICAL CHANGES IN PERU -- SIGNIFICANCE FOR U.S. NATIONAL
INTERESTS

REF: LIMA 6538, LIMA 6628, LIMA 6640

SUMMARY. THE FORCED DEPARTURE OF PRIME MINISTER FERNANDEZ MALDONADO
FOLLOWED BY REMOVAL OF CABINET MEMBERS AND OTHER GOP LEADERS
IDENTIFIED WITH HIM ON THE LEFT OF THE PERUVIAN POLITICAL SPECTRUM
APPEARS

TO SIGNIFY AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL CHANGE WHICH WILL HAVE A BEARING
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ON U.S. NATIONAL INTEREST. THIS CABLE OFFERS A TENTATIVE ANALYSIS

OF POLITICAL AND FOREIGN POLICY IMPLICATIONS ARISING FROM THE RECENT CHANGE. END SUMMARY.

1. BILATERAL RELATIONS

THE INTERACTION OF USG WITH MORE MODERATE GOP LEADERSHIP SHOULD LEAD TO FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF U.S./PERUVIAN RELATIONS. RELATIONS ARE, OF COURSE, DOMINATED BY ECONOMIC CONCERNS AND THE VITAL IMPORTANCE TO PERU OF WESTERN FINANCING AND TRADE. GOP SUCCESS OR LACK THEREOF IN NEGOTIATING MAJOR REFINANCING FROM A CONSORTIUM OF PRIVATE U.S. BANKS WILL AFFECT BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE MILGOV WILL CONTINUE TO LOOK TO THE U.S. FOR CERTAIN IMPORTANT ARMS PURCHASES WITH THE EXPECTATION OF A FAVORABLE USG RESPONSE TO DEMONSTRATE CLOSE AND CORDIAL BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE GOP WILL BE DISAPPOINTED SHOULD ITS SEARCH FOR MASSIVE INTERNATIONAL FINANCING AND TO A LESSER EXTENT FOR U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT BE FRUSTRATED. HOWEVER, THIS FRUSTRATION IS NOT EXPECTED TO TRANSLATE AS READILY AS HERETOFORE INTO AN ANTI-U.S. CAMPAIGN. IN THE MILITARY AREA THE GOP MAY USE ANY U.S. FAILURE TO SUPPLY WEAPONS THEY FEEL THEY NEED TO JUSTIFY THEIR PURCHASE ELSEWHERE, INCLUDING THE USSR. YET THE TENDENCY TO LOOK TOWARD THE USSR AS AN IMPORTANT PERUVIAN ARMS SUPPLIER COULD DIMINISH SOMEWHAT IN THE WAKE OF RECENT POLITICAL CHANGES.

2. MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

REDUCTION OF LEFTIST INFLUENCE IN THE CABINET AND THE SPECIFIC REPLACEMENT OF GEN. DE LA FLOR WITH CAREER DIPLOMAT JOSE DE LA PUENTE AS FONMIN SIGNIFIES A PROBABLE SHIFT IN PERU'S MULTILATERAL POSTURE FROM THE VANGUARD OF THE THIRD WORLD TOWARD THE POLITICAL CENTER OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. THIS SHIFT SHOULD BE HELPFUL TO U.S. INTERESTS AND OVERALL CONCERN WITH WORLD ORDER, IF PERU WORKS TO MODERATE MORE CONTENTIOUS THIRD WORLD POSITIONS. IN MATTERS OF CONSIDERABLE CONCERN TO THE U.S. AND SPECIFICALLY ON THE PUERTO RICO ISSUE, PERU CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE MORE UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POLICY. WE SENSE SOME DISQUIET IN THE CUBAN EMBASSY HERE. THE GOP IS LIKELY TO EVIDENCE INCREASED WARINESS OF CUBA'S INTERNAL INVOLVEMENT IN PERU AND ELSEWHERE, A WARINESS THAT MAY EXTEND TO CONFIDENTIAL

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THIRD WORLD FORA. THE PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCP) INTERPRETS THE GOP'S POLITICAL CHANGE AS DAMAGING TO THE WORLDWIDE "ANTI-IMPERIALIST" CAUSE. PCP SECGEN JORGE PRADO, IN AN INTERVIEW WITH A CORRESPONDENT FROM MEXICO CITY'S EXCELSIOR, FEARED A "MODIFICATION OF PERU'S NATIONALISM AS PRACTICED IN GOP RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.", AND HE COMMENTED THAT THE "REALIGNMENT" IN THE GOP FOREIGN OFFICE COULD RESULT IN A MODIFICATION OF "INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCES WHICH WILL DEBILITATE THE (PERUVIAN) LINKS WITH SOCIALIST AND

THIRD WORLD NATIONS".

3. THE AMERICAS

CAREER DIPLOMAT DE LA PUENTE DEPENDS DIRECTLY UPON PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ (POLITICAL POWER FLOWS FROM MILITARY RANK) AND DE LA PUENTE HAS IMMEDIATELY SET OUT TO RE-FOCUS GOP FOREIGN POLICY ALONG THE LINES PROMISED BY MORALES BERMUDEZ IN HIS MARCH 31, 1976 ADDRESS IN TRUJILLO. AT THAT TIME MORALES BERMUDEZ DECLARED THAT PERU "MUST RE-DIRECT (ITS FOREIGN POLICY) TOWARD THE AMERICAN CONTINENT AND MORE SPECIFICALLY LATIN AMERICA, FOCUSING ON THE OAS, ANDEAN PACT, REGIONAL INTEGRATION VIA LAFTA AND SELA AND INTEGRATION WITH ITS NEIGHBORS". IN HIS FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE JULY 19 (LIMA 6640), FONMIN DE LA PUENTE REFERRED TO THE NEW "URGENCY AND PRIORITY" OF PERU'S LATIN AMERICAN POLICY BUT DENIED THAT PERU'S ROLE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT WOULD BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY CHANGING PRIORITIES. (IN A JULY 22 CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY RYAN, DE LA PUENTE SUGGESTED THAT THE NEW PRIORITIES ALSO INCLUDE IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.). IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE DE LA PUENTE NOTED THE CREATION OF A NEW MINISTRY FOR INTEGRATION AND ANNOUNCED THE UPCOMING MEETING BETWEEN THE PERUVIAN AND BRAZILIAN PRESIDENTS IN LIMA AS EVIDENCE OF NEW GOP EMPHASIS ON ITS LATIN AMERICA RELATIONS.

4. ARMS LIMITATION AND NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR THE GOP POLITICAL ADJUSTMENT ITSELF IS UNLIKELY TO AFFECT PERU'S AMBITIOUS ARMS PURCHASE POLICY. IN FACT, THE MORE CONSERVATIVE GENERALS IN REGIONAL COMMANDS WHOSE POLITICAL AUTHORITY NOW SEEMS TO BE ENHANCED ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE GOVERNMENT FOR BOTH QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT IN MILITARY EQUIPMENT. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT GOP RESERVATIONS OVER

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THE MODALITIES OF A TRILATERAL ACCORD CONCERNING THE BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR WILL BE DIMINISHED. HOWEVER, CIVILIAN FOREIGN MINISTER DE LA PUENTE MIGHT CONCENTRATE ON THE NEED FOR IMAGINATIVE DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES WHICH WOULD STILL PROTECT PERU'S NATIONAL INTERESTS WHERE GENERAL DE LA FLOR WAS IMBUED WITH THE MILITARY'S PLEDGE TO DEFEND PERUVIAN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY --EXTENDING IN THE MILITARY PSYCHE TO FORMER TERRITORY THROUGH WHICH A CORRIDOR WOULD PASS.

5. FOREIGN INVESTMENT

THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT CLIMATE SHOULD IMPROVE. IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE DE LA PUENTE REFERRED TO TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES AND GOP SINS "IN NOT FIXING THE RULES OF THE GAME, LETTING THEM (TRANSNATIONALS) ACT FREELY". HE DECLARED THAT THE GOP DESIRED "HEALTHY FOREIGN INVESTMENT, RESPECTFUL OF OUR LEGAL FRAMEWORK

... A MODIFICATION IN GOP POLICY TOWARD PETROLEUM EXPLORATION AND THE TURNBACK OF THE ANCHOVY FISHING FLEET TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR (SEPTELS) IS INDICATIVE OF A NEW GOP ECONOMIC "REALISM". THE RESIGNATION OF SOCIAL PROPERTY COMMISSION CHIEF ANGEL DE LAS CASAS APPEARS TO SIGNIFY REDUCED EMPHASIS ON THE SOCIAL PROPERTY EXPERIMENT AND A MODIFICATION OF ITS AIM TO BECOME THE "HEGEMONIC AND PREDOMINANT" FORM OF ENTERPRISE IN PERU AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. NEW SOCIAL PROPERTY CHIEF GENERAL CESAR ROJAS CRESTO IN HIS FIRST PUBLIC STATEMENT REPUDIATED THOSE WHO "CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY PROPOSED A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE REFORMED

PRIVATE SECTOR AND SOCIAL PROPERTY AS IF THEY WERE ANTAGONISTIC". ROJAS DECLARED THAT BOTH FORMS OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION "SHOULD COEXIST" AND HE STATED THAT THOSE WHO ARGUE OTHERWISE ARE "ENEMIES OF THE REVOLUTION". THUS IS THE REVOLUTIONARY "IDEOLOGUE" DE LAS CASAS PRACTICALLY CONSIGNED TO A NEW "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY" CAMP INHABITED BY THOSE WHO FORMERLY CONSIDERED TO BE IN THE POLITICAL MAINSTREAM OF THE REVOLUTION. PRIVATE SECTOR PERUVIAN AND FOREIGN INVESTORS SEEM ENCOURAGED BY RECENT CHANGES. THEY ANTICIPATE FURTHER CHANGES IN THE LABOR SECTOR INCLUDING WIDE-RANGING MODIFICATION OF JOB SECURITY LEGISLATION AND LIMITATION ON THE RIGHT TO STRIKE (STRIKES ARE TEMPORARILY PROHIBITED DUE TO THE NATIONAL STATE OF EMERGENCY). SOME CHANGES IN PERU'S INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY LAW ARE EXPECTED. CONTEMPLATED CHANGES WILL PROVIDE FOR ULTIMATE MAN-

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AGEMENT CONTROL OVER MAJOR CORPORATE DECISIONS EVEN SHOULD WORKER PART-

ICIPATION IN CO-MANAGEMENT APPROACH 50 PERCENT. PRIVATE SECTOR REPRESENTATIVES HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR SENSE OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE EMBASSY AND SEEM TO FEEL A NEW "REALISM" IN GOP ECONOMIC POLICY. APRISTA LEADERS HAVE TOLD THE EMBASSY THAT APRA IS NOW CONFIDENT AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES WILL BE PERMITTED TO FUNCTION WITHOUT THREAT OF ABSORPTION INTO THE STATE-RUN SOCIAL PROPERTY SECTOR. APRA PLANS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE POLITICAL CHANGE TO PRESS FOR GREATER RECOGNITION OF AND BENEFITS FOR SMALL FARMERS. APRA IS EXTREMELY INFLUENTIAL IN THE NATIONAL "APOLITICAL" SMALL FARMERS ASSOCIATION.

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LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-04 ACDA-07 /108 W

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P R 232255Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

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6. MEDIA

MEDIA TREATMENT AND PROJECTED IMAGE OF THE U.S. IS EXPECTED TO IMPROVE. SUSPICION OF THE U.S. EXPRESSED BY LEFTISTS AROUND FORMER

PRIME MINISTER FERNANDEZ MALDONADO IS LESS EVIDENT. CONCERNING PRESS FREEDOMS, PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ AND INTERIOR MINISTER CISNEROS WERE SAID TO HAVE OPPOSED THE JULY 2 CLOSURE OF POLITICAL JOURNALS, BUT THEN PRIME MINISTER FERNANDEZ MALDONADO CARRIED THE DAY. MORALES BERMUDEZ HAS PUBLICLY EXPRESSED HIS ALLEGED CONVICTION THAT THE GOP MUST BE ABLE TO TOLERATE CRITICISM. THERE IS NOW A GREATER CHANCE THAT THE MORALES BERMUDEZ INCLINATION TO CONFIDENTIAL

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ALLOW A RATHER FREE EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL OPINION CAN PREVAIL. HOWEVER, THE PERUVIAN MILITARY IS NOT NOTED FOR ITS APPRECIATION OF THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS PRINCIPLE, AND WHEN THE PERIODICALS RE-OPEN SOME CENSORSHIP IS LIKELY TO BE INVOLVED. THE MORE STRIDENT

AND PROBABLY FOREIGN-FINANCED FAR-LEFT PUBLICATIONS MAY EXPERIENCE GREATEST DIFFICULTY IN SECURING GOP PERMISSION TO RE-OPEN.

7. INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION

REMOVAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGUES SIGNIFIES A SHIFT TOWARD THE POLITICAL CENTER AND MORE PRAGMATIC POLICIES WITHIN THE BROAD OUTLINES OF THE REVOLUTION'S IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES. THE CABINET IS MORE POLITICALLY HOMOGENOUS AND A POTENTIAL FOR GREATER MILGOV COHESION EXISTS. (THIS COULD INVOLVE REPLACEMENT OF THE ONE OR TWO REMAINING MINISTERS ASSOCIATED WITH FERNANDEZ MALDONADO.) THIS COULD LEAD TO IMPROVED POLITICAL STABILITY ENABLING PERU TO MORE SUCCESSFULLY TRANSCEND ITS ECONOMIC CRISIS. THE, AT LEAST TEMPORARY, SUPPORT OF TRADITIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES AUGERS WELL FOR THE GOVERNMENT AND LEAVES OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EVENTUAL "OPENING TOWARD DEMOCRACY". FORMER PRESIDENT BELAUNDE HAS DESCRIBED RECENT POLITICAL CHANGES AS "A STEP TOWARD THE NORMALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY". HE REITERATED HIS POSITION THAT THE ONLY REAL SOLUTION FOR PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ARMED FORCES "IS THROUGH ELECTIONS IN DUE COURSE".

POLITICAL STABILITY AND GOVERNMENT COHESION, HOWEVER, REMAINS THREATENED BY SEVERAL IMPORTANT FACTORS. IF THE GOP MOVES TO TOTALLY ALIENATE THE MARXIST LEFT (THE REVOLUTION TO DATE HAS BEEN NON-COMMUNIST BUT NOT ANTI-COMMUNIST) COMMUNIST INFLUENCE MAY INDEED DECLINE BUT CONCOMITANT WITH THE REDUCTION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE MAY BE AN INCREASED LIKELIHOOD OF POLITICAL AND LABOR UNREST, NOT EXCLUDING A FUTURE TERRORIST THREAT.

FURTHERMORE, REMOVAL OF THE WAR MINISTER AND SEVERAL RANKING GENERALS IN THE JULY 16 SHAKEUP COULD FURTHER WHET INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL AMBITIONS WITHIN THE MILITARY. THESE AMBITIONS ARE NOT LIMITED TO THE GENERAL OFFICERS BUT EXTEND TO COLONELS, MAJORS AND CAPTAINS. AS SEPTEMBER PROMOTION TIME APPROACHES, INTRA-MILITARY PRESSURES INCREASE.

THE POLITICAL STRENGTH OF MORALES BERMUDEZ REMAINS QUESTIONABLE.
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FERNANDEZ MALDONADO'S REMOVAL WAS PROBABLY FORCED BY THE REGIONAL COMMANDERS WITH NAVY SUPPORT AND WAS NOT INSTIGATED BY MORALES BERMUDEZ HIMSELF, EVEN THOUGH HE SHOULD BE THE SHORT-RUN BENEFICIARY OF THAT CHANGE. HE IS THE SYMBOL OF MILGOV STABILITY AND THAT MAY HAVE

BEEN AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN HIS SUCCESSFUL PASSAGE THROUGH THE RECENTLY TURBULENT POLITICAL WATERS. SHOULD PRIME MINISTER ARBULU WITH

HIS ALLEGED PERSONAL SUPPORT WITHIN THE ARMY, ALONG WITH REGIONAL COMMANDERS WHO EVIDENCE GREATER INTEREST IN THE POLITICAL SCENE,

CIRCUMSCRIBE MORALES BERMUDEZ' POWER, THAT WOULD BE A POTENTIALLY DESTABILIZING SITUATION. IF MORALES BERMUDEZ IS EVENTUALLY REMOVED THAT WOULD FURTHER STRAIN THE SENIORITY PRINCIPLE. POLITICAL AMBITIONS WOULD BE BALDLY REVEALED AND MILITARY COHESION WOULD SUFFER ACCORDINGLY. FINALLY, POLITICAL FACTIONALISM WITHIN THE MILGOV IS UNLIKELY TO FADE AWAY. SOMEONE MIGHT WELL PICK UP THE FALLEN LEFTIST POLITICAL BANNER AND SEEK TO FILL THE ROLE OF FERNANDEZ MALDONADO AS SPOKESMAN WITHIN THE GOP FOR THAT MORE THOROUGHGOING POLITICAL CHANGE PROMISED IN "PHASE ONE" OF THE REVOLUTION.

POLITICAL PROGNOSTICATION AT THIS POINT MUST BE EXTREMELY TENTATIVE. THE POLITICAL PLAN "TUPAC AMARU" IS EXPECTED TO BE ANNOUNCED SOON, PERHAPS ON THE OCCASION OF PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ' JULY 28 INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECH. IT SHOULD GIVE FURTHER INDICATION OF NEW GOP POLITICAL DIRECTIONS.

8. HUMAN RIGHTS

ALIENATION OF THE MARXISTS COMBINED WITH THE LIMITATION ON THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, MODIFICATION OF JOB SECURITY (A REVOLUTIONARY TENET) AND INFLATION-INDUCED POPULAR DISCONTENT COULD LEAD TO AN INCREASED GOP SECURITY PROBLEM. THE GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY ENGAGED IN "PREVENTIVE DETENTION" OF LEFTIST POLITICAL AND LABOR LEADERS. WE HAVE RECEIVED NO REPORTS OF MISTREATMENT OF THOSE ARRESTED OR MORE WIDESPREAD REPRESSION BUT IF LEFTIST VIOLENCE SOULD BLOSSOM AND BE MET

BY GOP COUNTER-VIOLENCE, REPRESSION CANNOT BE RULED OUT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CABINET, POLITICAL SITUATION, PERSONNEL MOVEMENTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976LIMA06773
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760285-0079
From: LIMA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760729/aaaaayto.tel
Line Count: 359
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 LIMA 6538, 76 LIMA 6628, 76 LIMA 6640
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 MAY 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <25 OCT 2004 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POLITICAL CHANGES IN PERU -- SIGNIFICANCE FOR U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS
TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PINT, PORG, PE, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006